through them, would have meant courting the displeasure of the spirit which animated the troubled stretch, and would have been dangerous. He was a Man Nzegere and knew all this well, for was he not ready to marry Dida any time now? He would have to wait as yet, but perhaps during the next planting her breasts would come, and then in a month, two, three, she would be ready to marry. He was, in fact, in the mood even to cast about for a second wife, though his marrying her would have to wait many years. All that would come, for what with the money he already had earned, and the sums he would get for the wood he might bring down the river later, and this money the Bakra would give him, he would have enough to pay for the hammock, the cloth pangi, the handkerchiefs, the bracelets and beads, and whatever else a man needed to give to his woman and her mother for a fine marriage.

Going through this stretch of still water, which Bayo always found dull, he thought of this and that, for there was no work for his muscles but the monotony of the dip and stroke of the paddle. Going upstream it was different. There the challenge of the slipping pole-stick against submerged slime-covered rocks made a man prove himself. It spoke to the warrior blood in him, which found no outlet in these quiet times. But this was only idling, and his mind found pleasure in wandering, especially if it happened, as now, to be dark enough to make it worthless for him to look about for the things that grew and stirred in the bush.

Yes, it would be almost three hours before the sun was high, and when it stood there—he indicated the place in the heavens to himself with his eye—he might be loading the Bakra's boats to go up river, for word had come from top-side that the Mamadam would be safe in a few days, and now if the Granman meant for the Bakra to get to the upper river, he would be sending word down almost any time. And he, Bayo, was ready for the journey. Here in the blue canister, which he had bought in the city on the Queen's last birthday with part of the money he had

Herskovits & Herskovits F-5 (1928-1932) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

would be more serious yet, an evil spirit who would be lying in wait for a soul to use as emissary in his affairs of black magic, would snatch at the soul and take it away. If this happened, a person would sicken, languish, and die. Sometimes when a man tripped on the clayey bank, we heard him exclaim, "*Agu!*—Ancestors!" calling on these to protect him until he recovered his balance. But often we heard different cries. "Mi, Awana!" one man had called. "Mi, Nyamfai!" or, "Mi, Matchau!" or "Mi, Popoto!" These are all clan names, and for a time we assumed that instead of appealing to their ancestors, they called on the entire clan to come to their aid. But one day Sedefo lost his footing, and we heard him exclaim, "Mi, Fandaki!" Now we knew that Sedefo belonged to the clan of the Gankwe people, and we knew, further, that he was most emphatically not of the Fandaki clan.

"Sedefo, you are not a Fandaki. Why did you call on them?"

"My father belongs to the Fandaki. When we slip we call on our father's lo."

"Why, Sedefo?"

"I do not know. . . ."

Another day we were sitting and talking to a young man in an upper river village. A girl came and sat with us. "This is my sister," the man said. It was at a time when we were looking into these matters, and we asked, "Did the same mother make you both?"

"No," he answered, "she is here only on a visit. She lives across the river. Her father is my mother's brother."

"But she is not your sister, then," we said. "She does not even belong to your clan."

"Massa Neng'e! But she is my sister!" the man protested. "She is neither of my family, nor of my clan. But did not my mother's brother make her?"

"*Could you marry her?*"

He considered for a moment. "It would be possible. But it would not be good. . . . And the old women in the village would talk too much."

1/Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
Bush Negroes
Saramacca

194 the Granman punctuated the pauses of the men, though not often their meaning.

623 But whatever the reports of the women, and the commands given by the Granman, the word for white man interspersed all of the morning's recitals, and the questions of the Granman and the answers often came fast.

Of the men, the Granman asked little. They came up in pairs usually, and now one, now the other took up the report. Clan names were spoken, and occasionally a village name was mentioned, but on the morning preceding the council of the chiefs, only one village was discussed, and one clan. The name of the village was the forbidden one where we had stopped for the night against the Granman's orders, and the clan was that of one group of our paddlers.

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574 Early on the morning after our arrival at Asindopo Lantiwe, our paddlers came to see us in the council house. The Granman was busy outside his own house with the chiefs who had gathered for the council meeting, and these men who, like ourselves, were strangers here, came as comrades of an adventurous journey to visit with us and talk over the impressiveness of our reception and the allure of the women of the Granman's village, who were famous everywhere on the river. It was a village where chastity among the girls was closely watched, and where its women were given in marriage to the most influential men on the river.

[831]
[582]

302 The men were gotten up splendidly. Their bodies glis-
291 tened with oil, their cloths were made of the long strips, pieced together by their women, and of patterns which the sun's rays had had no chance to pale. Sedefo's was particularly fine, we thought, but he assured us that it did not compare with the one the river had claimed. His cloth was also made of strips, but the stitching which connected them was a lacy weave, worked in triangles, and made to resemble the vertebrae of a snake. The border was of triangular

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

gave rise to another Bush Negro nation known as the *Boni* tribe. There are also three other tribes today of less importance: the *Matawai* on the Upper Saramacca River, the *Quinsee-Matawai* which is a sub-tribe on the Copenam, and the *Paramacca* on the Middle Marowyne with villages on both the French and Dutch sides of the river.

The tribal divisions are strictly enforced. Not only is intermarriage forbidden, but each tribe has its separate government, and each is referred to locally as a "river nation." Each tribe likewise has its own territory, and any poaching by hunters, fishers, or balata bleeders is rigorously punished. The ruler of the tribe is a king, or *granman*. Among the photographs is one of old Jankoeso, the kindly shrewd ruler of the Saramaccaner nation; the Aucaner ruler, Amekti, has just died, his place probably being taken by Matodja. The Boni granman is named Awensai.

The largest tribe is the Saramaccaner, with a population of about 14,000. Their village of Santi Gron (Sandy Ground), some twenty miles from Paramaribo on the Lower Saramacca River is the nearest of all Djuka villages to white civilization. But the main body of this tribe begins some ninety miles up the Surinam River from Paramaribo, and the villages are strung along the Surinam River for a hundred or more miles further on back into the interior. The names of some of these villages are: Nu Condree, Lombe, Gansee, Biodoti, Adawai, De Jun, Masumba Pratti, and Dahomey, and other towns of even more picturesque appellations: Boto-Passi, Poki Gron, Granman Condree, and many more.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

of some other woman, and exercises authority over her children rather than over his own.

The Djuka family, then, consists of a group of people all descended from a single woman, and related to each other through the female line. Whatever family authority exists resides in the mother's or grandmother's brothers; to them the children defer; from them the children will inherit property and title. The paternity of the children is unessential. This type of social organization is called matrilineal.

We should, perhaps, not expect to find romantic love, as we know it, among the Djukas. The peculiar transports and attenuated delights of romantic passion are a rather extraordinary phenomenon which, according to Briffault, does not exist outside of Western civilization. Romance requires a high development of individuality among women so that one may be desirable above all others. Where women are mutually interchangeable, romance cannot exist. The Djuka black does not love a woman; he loves women. Love among the Djukas is not a brainstorm but a physiological release, and marriage an economic device.

The young people have complete knowledge and some experience of sex at an extremely early age and are usually married at sixteen or seventeen. They are fairly promiscuous before marriage and extremely so afterward. This, again according to Briffault, is the rule in tribes retaining the matrilineal tradition. Since intercourse before marriage is a practice that the Djukas make little effort to restrain, sex is a common affair, not particularly connected with marriage.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It is indulged in as naturally as the other bodily functions.

"Marriage" is a convenient term for describing cohabitation among the Djukas, but it must be remembered that to them marriage is a purely economic institution. There is little ceremony. No one objects to getting married, because divorce is instantaneous and easy. The bonds of marriage are loose, and adultery, to use our harsh term, is customary.

Courting consists in presenting the prospective bride with elaborate wood carvings of useful implements. This wood carving has been developed by the Djukas to a high point of artistic perfection, as can be seen from the illustrative specimens, of which more will be said later. The approaching marriage is not looked upon as a departure from the maternal group; it is simply an arrangement for providing the man with a cook and the woman with children. The marriage of a captain or a Granman differs in no wise from any other; no especial care is taken of his bride.

We encountered two varieties of the process of choosing a husband. In the first, the girl has little to say, her husband being selected for her by her parents. In the second and more frequent practice the woman marries the man of her own choice, the parents making sure that the intended husband is a good provider. But since every Djuka buck is trained to the jungle crafts from childhood, this requirement can almost be taken for granted.

The husband marries frequently. He may marry outside of his village, or outside of his lo, but never outside of the tribe. Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

881 have a last look at the child's penis, as they will never see it again. Then the boy is proclaimed a man, and given clothes.

So far as could be observed, there is no circumcision of either the male or female, although such mutilations are indulged in by West African tribes in the region from which the Djukas came. The girls wear only the *coyo,* or a larger cloth known as *pangi,* until their first menstruation, when their mothers give them cloths. This is done in private. Menstruating women are required to leave their homes and retire
841 to a separate hut situated outside the village on a by-path; they may not return until three days after the period is over. Under no condition are they allowed to go to the provision fields during this time.

584 At the age of about sixteen or seventeen the children are
[582] ready to be married. Sometimes they are betrothed in infancy, and occasionally a pregnant woman will betroth her child before it is born, conditionally, of course, upon its sex. Once the child is betrothed the ceremony must take place,
[754] otherwise the disappointed prospective mate will call down a *kunu,* or curse, on the entire perjured family, and they will all die. The pubescent child does not look forward to marriage as time for leaving its family, nor is marriage an
[581] initiation into sex relations. For these two reasons, getting
[348] married is not a serious step, and there is little illegitimacy because there is no reason for objecting to a marriage.

858 Youths must remain standing until their elders invite them
576 to be seated. It is customary for older people to receive much
888 respectful attention, for the older people are the sources of tradition and authority

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165 [For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population
429 of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number
551 of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian
582 (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular
586 individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by
specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary
marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

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613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as [601] [784] a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kunu.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but 613 614 there are seven cases of unions between members of different • 582 123 fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated.

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 614 128 [115] [601] In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4), thanks to the memories of the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here./

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 614 [602] Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[See p. 34, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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This village had no future. its complement did nothing but melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of venereal diseases.

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as [184] the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

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6/4
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The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously within Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted between Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term [184] pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

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[621] The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost [614] as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct [184] bas. They do not have the same kunu.

[582] Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

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[101] Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

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614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[184] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the
614 point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
• 512 tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same
[183] fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group, without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of
[101] a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.
[619] The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin. Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the
621 AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect
571 to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

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602 784 428 [153] to observe all his life and which he himself will transmit to his children. It is unanimously believed that breaking this interdiction causes leprosy (bwasi).

This interdiction is never transmitted by women. It is transmitted from father to son /33/ or daughter. The son will observe it and transmit it; the daughter will observe it during her lifetime, but she will not transmit it.

602 784 The existence of the bwasi kina divides the Boni into de facto groupings which can be considered as patrilineages. These patrilineages have no name, no head, no organization; their members are dispersed among the various matrilineages and most of them do not know who the others are.

They exist nevertheless and extend throughout all the tribes of Refugee Blacks.

[582] Their importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks comes from the fact that they involve a law of exogamy: a man and a woman who have the same bwasi kina cannot marry; that would be pikadu, incest in the broad sense, an offense against exogamy, as much as the union of two members of the same matrilineage

[262] [578] It is difficult to estimate the number of these patrilineages which seems to us to be at least 20 among the Boni; actually, the Boni do not willingly tell their bwasi kina, for fear that one of their enemies might mix into their food a fragment of the interdicted food in order to harm them; besides, they do not know their paternal relations beyond their grandfather. Reconstitution of patrilineages by interrogation seems therefore to be illusory.

602 784 262 The bwasi kina we have been able to find out about are all about food. They involve the cayman, the "tiger," the tortoise, the white hen, the pian (awali), the eel. The cayman is often given in addition to another animal. But it is inaccurate to say that the Refugee Blacks have a general interdiction against the cayman.

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602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[189] — That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[582] — That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples: because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kin-
613 ship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

— People of the same generation, the expression — ba So-and-so... (man); sa So-and-so (woman)

— — of one generation above, the expression — tiyu, uncle; tiya, aunt

— — of two generations above, the expression — papa; mama.

[192] /34/ Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable. Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, ɔdio, or tiyu, ɔdio.

[551] In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms soagi, pay, may even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say sa So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve 581 583 any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refugee Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

582 Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist; 621 as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live 591 in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her 593 native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes [439] visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

593 The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate [613] and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

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made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14 years), son of Fintimah (Boniville) had earned about 13,000 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bowman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
		13,000

His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

The person charged with the education of a girl exercises the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes her to marry, and by giving her the pangi, married women's garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

/134 cont./

429 56 861 582 Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished, he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 884 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 576 601 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say, "My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion makes research on family life risky as long as one does not possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

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593 The same year, G...., man of about 50, particularly serious and hard-working, had saved up enough to buy an outboard motor; his mother, aged near 75 years, advised him absolutely not to make this purchase, claiming that he would be the object of jealousy and was risking being the victim of evil spells; he gave up the project. He did not dare carry it out until [965] 1957 after the mourning for his mother (dead in 1955) had been lifted.

To let one's mother be in need is considered a shame; if a mother has several sons, they divide up the purchases to be made for her benefit; each year one of them will cut the clearing intended for the mother; in exchange she will furnish couac and vegetables as long as her strength will allow her to work.

591 Ordinarily each of the sons, when he becomes 20 or 25 years old, builds himself in his village a house in which he lives alone. But it often happens that a man who has reached adulthood continues to live in his mother's house; for example, in 1952 in Loka village, Ayaubédé, about 40 years of age, was living with his mother Chii.

593 As for the authority of the mother over her daughters, it is [582] still much more strict and lasts all her life. The daughter may not marry without the authorization of her mother or of her [591] female guardian if she is not brought up by her mother. The married daughter has the use of a house that her husband built for her, but this house is situated near that of her mother. Since household life is intermittent and reduced to its simplest expression, she remains under the domination of her mother until the latter's death. Especially, she cannot travel without her permission.

593 In former times the authority of mothers over daughters 198 was tyrannical; they say that one might see an octogenarian mother requisition an old man's arm to strike her sexagenarian daughter who had disobeyed her. But nowadays this authority is battered [571] down by the development of individualism. From this results a growing dissoluteness in the girls and an increasing instability of unions.

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concern-
[684] ing adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife.

581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful.
[584] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of
[765] indemnity. It does not directly involve the relatives of the spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the subservience
[613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

• 582 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same
613 lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks
614 employ the word bee (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word lo.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Dju lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

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584 588 984 This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

582 [613] Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction, pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[595] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters" [589] at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage;

[735] [589] --I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother--in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social [584] and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened with being beaten.

[171] The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

[171] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan (A.gni, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

184 589 114 One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

/140 cont./

184 587 Whatever its origin, we should note that the Saramaka custom has no relation, as far as its legal content is concerned, to the levirate, nor to the inheritance of widows as it is practiced in numerous African societies. It does not correspond in any way to the transmission of a right over the widow, since this right does not exist; it probably results from the idea that the widow is better protected from the effects of the dead man's jealousy if she marries one of his brothers. Besides, she may [583] choose from among all his classificatory brothers, in the matri- lineage as in the patrilineage, which assures her of a wide [584] choice. She can break this union without any compensation after some months of living together and resume complete liberty.

582 Statistics of marriages between kin groups. We have listed on the table opposite, the total unions for which we have been able to identify with certainty the kinship of the spouses, including those broken by divorce and death. Their total number is 411.

582 619 The table emphasizes the more or less great frequency of unions between /141/ /table appears here/ /142/ such-and-such kin groups, as well as the frequency of unions between Boni women and men of other tribes, DJUKA, PARAMAKA, and SARAMAKA.

Out of a total of 411 unions of Boni women one notes:

--327 with BONI (80%);
-- 60 with DJUKA (12%);
-- 21 with SARAMAKA (5%);
-- 5 with PARAMAKA (1%);
[648] -- 8 with Creoles from Surinam (2%):

The proportion of intertribal marriages (20%) is high; it results from the frequent presence on the Maroni of Djuka or Saramaka boatmen coming to carry on transport. The reciprocal is not true; marriages between Boni men and women

[Text Continues on P. 209]

Marriage of Boni women of the lineages

Husband's lineage

Marriages with outsiders

none

none

none

none

none

bet. fract.

none

* between fractions

** in same fraction

6:Hurault--208 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

/142 cont./

582 619 of other groupings are rare; that is because the Boni have almost no occasion to frequent the Tapanahoni, where economic activity is nil.

For 123 married men of the villages on the French bank there were in November, 1958, 11 unions with Djuka women, or 8 per cent. No marriage to Saramaka or Paramaka women existed.

582 613 The table confirms besides that marriages between members of different kin groups are entirely free and are not subject to any preoccupation with exchange or reciprocity. For example, out of 60 unions between Boni women of the Lapé lineage and Boni men, we have:

6	with	men	of	the	Dipélu I lineage
7	--	--	-	-	Dipélu II --
7	--	--	-	-	Papaïston --
11	--	--	-	-	Awara Bakka --
4	--	--	-	-	Dju --
5	--	--	-	-	Dipélu I /sic./ --
20	--	--	-	-	Kotika --

[628] In fact, the geographical proximity of the villages has the most direct influence on unions.

582 613 628 For example a high proportion of women from Kormotibo (Dip. II) married men from Papaïston and reciprocally.

That comes from the fact that these villages are near each other and isolated from others. It is the same for Kotika and L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I). In the small Afi lineage, divided between Kormotibo and Asisi-Awara Bakka villages, more than half the women are married to inhabitants of these two villages.

582 619 621 Certain personal affinities and habits of living have an indirect influence. For example, the Djuka boatmen passing through Boni country habitually stay in Asisi-Awara Bakka, because they are received in the homes of some of their own

582 619 62 /142 cont./ people who have lived there for a long time. They strike up relationships with the people of Asisi, and that favors new unions. This explains the high proportion of unions between the women of this village and the Djuka (13 out of 75). On the contrary, almost no marriages to Djuka are observed in Papaïston village, where no Djukas has settled permanently. /143/

584 613 604 The marriage proposal. The suitor is obliged to ask for the assent of his own mother and his uncles (at the very least the eldest of his classificatory uncles); in general he asks his father also.

604 If two of his classificatory uncles are expressly opposed, the plan must be abandoned. But there is no possible sanction for disobedience.

The suitor does not make the proposal himself; after making sure of the agreement of the girl he sends two persons, one of his uncles or brothers and one of his sisters in the classificatory sense.

These envoys speak to the woman's mother and uncles assembled together. If they agree, they go to ask for the assent of the head of the lineage. The men and women of the woman's lineage drink together a liter of tafia brought by the 969 envoys. Before drinking, the doyen of the lineage pours a little of it on the ground while invoking the ancestors, asking them to perpetuate the accord of the household and to grant them health and fecundity. This ceremony is made on the spot and they do not go to the fraga tiki, for they would be afraid to present themselves again at the fraga tiki in case of a break-up; prayer said anywhere in the village is not binding.

The two envoys, man and woman, play a very precise role. The man represents the postulant (it is a sort of marriage by proxy).

/144 cont./

584 602 To ask for his second wife Bugi (Aw.B.1, F41, Asisi-Awara Bakka vge.) he had sent Dosu (Dip. I, E4, Boniville), his father Malobi's classificatory brother (although a very distant relative) and his younger sister by the same mother, Kulina, who made the marriage proposal to Bugi's mother and to her classificatory uncles Antonu and Mato.

582 178 [701] Age of marriage. In former times there was a very precise custom about this. Men were not authorized to marry before about 30 years of age, constituting until that age the immediately mobilizable armed force. Women were authorized by their mothers to marry only when they had reached complete physical development, or between 20 and 22 years. This was the safeguard of a society deprived of all medical help against obstetrical risk, particularly serious for very young women. When the fiancé had temporarily emigrated to earn his living, the marriage could be put off until the age of 25 years and more. [184] This late marriage of girls was still met with only a few years ago among the Djuka, more faithful to custom. There was on the average five to ten years of age difference between husband and wife. /145/

For about the past ten years, under the influence of the relaxation of family discipline, the marriage age has gone down considerably, as much for the man as for the woman. Nearly all the girls married during the last two years were from 15 to 17 years old. It can be stated that the average marriage age of girls is 16 years (1).

1. We are speaking here of the age at the time of the consummation of marriage.

/145 cont./

582 About a third of the young men marry between 18 and 20; nearly all the others before 25.

However, part of the girls choose as husbands men appreciably older than they, so that the average age difference between husband and wife remains close to six years.

Women born from	Age difference between husband and wife. The sign — indicates that the husband is younger than the wife.	Average	Spread
1936 and after	24/2/0/14/3/0/4/1/6/1/4/17/2/9/—2/19/4/4/1/9/1/17/4/2/9/4/1/12/7/10/14/4/	+ 6.5 years	-2 to + 24 years 33 out of 34 husbands are older than their wives
1926 to 1935 incl.	7/6/30/12/20/28/5/11/8/4/6/5/17/—1/—1/—1/10/5/9/—1/2/2/7/10/19/14/8/—2/6/4/5/14/0/—7/4/14/0/13/4/13/	+ 6.9 years	-7 to +30 years 35 out of 41 husbands are older than their wives
1916 to 1925 incl.	5/—3/—11/—2/10/2/1/—4/22/2/17/14/11/4/7/5/16/3/6/1/17/4/—4/20/4/7/10/—14/10/9/6/9/11/8/10/9/—4	+5.9 years	-11 to +22 years 30 out of 37 husbands are older than their wives

/145 cont./

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Women born from	Age difference between husband and wife. The sign — indicates that the husband is younger than the wife.	Average	Spread
1896 to 1915 incl.	—4/1/—1/8/2/—3/—2/7/3/22/9/—3/2/—11/19/17/11/11/21/5/3/1/1/3/2/6/20/16/—2/8/	+5.8 years	—1 to +22 years 22 out of 29 husbands are older than their wives
before 1896	2/0/3/10/—10/—5/5/—2/10/—8/8/0/5/5/.	+1.5 years	—10 to +8 years 8 out of 14 husbands are older than their wives

587 As the man and woman advance in age, this average age difference of six years is maintained in the course of successive remarriages until old age. It decreases then only by the effect of demographic factors, the proportion of women in the higher age brackets being greater and greater.

162 Out of 37 women over 60 years of age in the Boni villages on the French bank, only 14 were married; all the others had been widows or divorcees for a long time.

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman. 588 178 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A..., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a [684] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and [613] people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 [562] Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umã, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them. 882 834 [291] People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a reserved attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict [593] vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl [836] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married, [597] pɔti na ɔsu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

/146 cont./

882 [858] Whereas little girls before puberty are left free to come and go, older girls are the object of constant surveillance. They are always under the surveillance of one of their near [883] relatives specifically designated. If they have permission to go dancing in another village, they must present themselves upon arrival to an uncle, an aunt, an older brother who will watch over them all evening.

Sometimes they build for a girl a little house where she sleeps alone ... but she is double-locked into it for the night.

[883] At nightfall, when their mothers are busy with the preparation of the meal, the girls are sent to get water or to angle for fish; there is wavering in the surveillance, and seducers know how to profit by it.

[593] [584] [582] Until recent times girls were held by their mothers in the bonds of a strict authority, and although engaged very young, they were not authorized to marry before reaching complete physical development.

584 It often used to happen that a girl might be promised by her mother to a man from her first years (they still say, although that is no longer practiced, pɔti mɔfu na umã, "to put his mouth on a girl," meaning by that to have received a promise of marriage). This plan always used to remain subject to the girl's assent when she grew up and did not constitute a contract, strictly speaking; it did not involve any payment or compensa- [593] tion whatever. A girl could not be obligated to a marriage which was absolutely displeasing to her, but the mother's authority was great enough to make these marriages come about in most cases.

[431] If a girl had not been promised, the young man who wanted to marry her used to try to attract her attention during a dance and to exchange a few words with her. /147/ Later he would give her a paddle bearing symbols of fecundity and the representation of a house and a boat. If the girl accepted the paddle, he could propose to her officially.

/147 cont./

848 If the girl is pregnant, the man may not abandon her: that would make a great to-do between the two kin groups: he must stay with her at least until the birth of the child.

883 836 178 [582] Nowadays among the Boni things tend to happen completely otherwise than custom makes provision for. The general opinion is that girls can no longer be held down, that they escape more and more from the authority of their mothers; many of them begin to run wild at about 14 or 15, and people are obliged to marry them off precipitately at 15 or 16. It is difficult to say what the proportion of these hasty marriages is, but the recriminations heard on all sides on the subject of the shamelessness of girls give the idea that it is increasing. In the [582] villages on the French bank, out of nine girls married in 1958 [848] there were only four marriages concluded according to regulations; the five others had been arranged hastily either because the girl was pregnant (two cases) or because she had laid herself open to scandal. /148/

582 Nearly all girls married between 1952 and 1956 were 15 to 17 years old.

584 This is about how things happen:

A man who is attracted by a girl tries to exchange a few [537] words with her unknown to her mother. There are special forms for these declarations. One speaks in a low voice, very fast, using special formulas. This is how one of our boatmen, one evening in October, 1952, addressed young Lomé, age 15, of Boniville village, who had gotten away from her mother on the pretext of going to get water for us.

584 539 "Woman, I love thee, I wish to live with thee, I wish to marry thee. That which God put in me I cannot take away (1).

1. Which means: I cannot change, you must take me as I am.

/151 cont./

595 Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But 581 it is an apparent monogamy, for unions are not stable; their 586 average duration is about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and gives her a liter of tafia, asking her to live on good terms with [586] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives and get divorced.

587 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives 586 successively. Most of the time these marriages have been 163 broken by the wife. /152/

Example S... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nanay (Dip. II)†	1 child	divorced
Baakauman (K)†	3 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saumè (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Paata (Boniville)	no children	"
Emma (Asisi-Aw.B.)	no children	"
Masé (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Apinda (Asisi)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Do (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Noémi (Asisi-Aw.B.)	1 child	marriage extant in 1958

159 582 Example of the family life of G... (50 years old in 1958). About 1935 G... married M... (Kotika), a serious-minded and 159 837 intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Neverthe- [847] less, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S..., classificatory sister of M..., whom he made pregnant (abortion).

/155 cont./

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Women born from	0 Div.	1 Div.	2 Div.	3 Div.	4 Div.	Irregular Life	Total
1926 to 1935 incl.	13	8	8	0	0	2	31
1916 to 1925 incl.	9	7	10	1	0	3	30
1896 to 1915 incl.	1	12	6	3	0	1	23
before 1896	3	9	5	1	2	(?)	20
						Total....	104

/156/ Supposing that divorces are regularly spaced through the course of life, and that they cease at about the age of 65 on the average, one can arrive at an estimate of the average number of divorces in store for a Boni woman at old age.

Women born from	Average Age End 1957	Average No. Divorces	Probable No. by Age 65
1926 to 1935 incl.	27 years	0.8 in 10 years(1)	3.8
1916 to 1925	37 years	1.0 in 17 years	2.8
1896 to 1915	52 years	1.5 in 32 years	2.1
before 1896	70 years		1.5 (?)

[582]

1. The average age at marriage is 17 for this group of women, 20 for the earlier groups.

/156 cont./

586 [128] The estimate of the average number of divorces for women born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 593 178 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N..., who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Asadam (K, Boniville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extremely shameful [558] for a girl because it is placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Amèmbé beat her, and she ended up by marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village), who formally asked for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a 586 587 year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kotika village).

584 Aguba (D.u, G14), girl of Asisi-Dju village, born in 1941, had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Païtiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was 584 agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But 585 Païtiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestine- [429] ly at the end of a few months. Lènga, Aguba's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the [illegible] until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few 586 months. /157/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with Païtiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

/293 cont./

175 648 727 with their allies. The sites of their villages, marked on Coudreau's map (1888) are in immediate proximity to those of former Oayana villages.

175 648 [643] relations must have been created rapidly and in a very natural fashion. The grand man of the Boni is in a way the suzerain of the Indian chiefs; this situation was not imposed by force; it results from the privileged situation of the Boni on the river, which until recent times obliged the Indians to deal through them in order to trade with the outside world.

Although the Boni took advantage of this situation in days gone by to impose arbitrary rates of exchange upon the Indians, this relation must not be imagined as the exploitation of conquered by conqueror. It is based on the absolute respect of each 648 829 group for the beliefs and social structure of the other, and an activity for each befitting its inclination. The proverb says: "To the Boni the river, to the Indians the forest." Thus it is [439] that the Boni traditionally buy arrows from the Indians, while the latter buy paddles from them; the meaning of this symobl is perfectly understood by both.

648 ●582 Marriages between the two groups, without being forbidden, are regarded as contrary to custom (2).

159 156 643 648 582 2. The marriage of Grand Man Awensay to an Indian woman about 1915 was inspired by complex motives. Toward the end of his life, Awensay could no longer stand the Boni, his imperious personality putting up badly with their individualism and their taste for discussion. He had established the Indian country a farming habitation in which he lived nearly all

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/293 cont./ year; by taking an Indian woman as his wife he apparently sought to humiliate his subjects.

Awensay's children and grandchildren were all dead in 1957 except for two women, both sterile. There has been no other case of marriage between Boni and Indians.

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439 /294/ In practice, the basis for commercial exchanges is the following: the Indians furnish hammocks, and above all dogs trained for hunting, to which great value is attached. The Boni furnish boats. In days gone by they also brought imported objects, machetes, axes, and beads, but this form of trade has disappeared since the Indians have had the possibility of getting supplies from the Europeans.

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Several observers, coming after Coudreau (1890) and Grébert (1937) in particular, have expressed the opinion that these relations were founded on fear and that the Boni, utilizing mysterious means of pressure, used to oppress the Indians.

After seven missions spent in contact with both, we affirm that these assertions are without foundation. On the contrary, one can only admire the way in which these primitive groups have been able to create loyal and trusting relations with one another. The Indians and Boni who have worked with us have always shown themselves happy to be together. To realize this, it was sufficient to hear the animated conversations they used to have in the evening around the campfires about their respective families, the events which took place in their villages, fishing, or hunting.